

SOCIALISTS AND THE COMMONWEALTH

# Venture

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## Comment

### AFRICA AND E.E.C. — A POLITICAL DECISION

THE European Economic Community — a colonialist economic device to negate the value of African political independence; or a useful concentration of Europe's resources which could generate more development capital for Africa? Recent reactions by African leaders reflect their own difficulties in deciding between these two interpretations.

The negotiations which have so far taken place between the Six and their 'Associated Territories' — mainly former French colonies in Africa — provide some basis for examining African fears. The most obvious feature of these negotiations is the clarity and sophistication of African awareness of what is at stake. It is highly unlikely that their association will continue unless the economic advantages to them heavily outweigh the disadvantages. They seem acutely aware of the dangers. For instance, it is clear that without effective African participation in policy-making, Africa *could* revert to being simply the source of raw materials for Europe and a market for European manufacturers. It is possible to imagine an association in which the European bloc could profitably prevent industrialisation and the diversification of African economies as well as the development of inter-African trade.

But for several reasons these economic dangers will very probably be substantially avoided. At the meeting of the Six and the 'Associated Territories' in Strasbourg in June, the African states made the strength of their bargaining position crystal clear. They could point to the fact that strong competition for trade with Africa has been the order of the day since independence, and that Europe no longer has any kind of monopoly. Nor was there any serious attempt on the part of the Six to indicate terms. The Associated

Territories left assured of four things: that their status would be that of separate sovereign nations, fully represented on policy-making bodies; that the E.E.C. would be open to any African nations, so that the Association would not undermine the Pan-African ideal; that development plans designed to employ European funds would be drawn up and executed by Africans; and that African states would retain the right to make economic agreements with countries outside the E.E.C.

These are very important concessions. In effect, the Six seem to have invited the Africans to put forward their own proposals for the terms of their association. 'We are not proposing to offer the Africans a ready-cooked dish,' was the comment of M. Lemaigen, who is in charge of aid to underdeveloped countries for the E.E.C.

The European Development Fund, subscribed by all members of the Common Market, now stands at about £200m. During the last four years gifts from this fund have accounted for up to 50 per cent of public investment in some of the Associated States. The fund is clearly an invaluable source of capital, not least because it avoids the crippling burden of interest rates.

One further potential advantage of the association should be mentioned. It seems that the Africans favour the establishment of *quotas* for their main commodities to Europe, rather than protecting them by *tariffs*; and that this view is likely to be accepted. There are three advantages of a quota, over a tariff system; it would provide a greater measure of price stability and the basis for planned production; it would avoid the danger of exporting European tariff divisions into the underdeveloped world; and it would encourage consumption of over-produced commodities like cocoa and coffee by keeping prices uniformly low.



But when all this has been said, there remain the deeply held political objections to associate membership of the E.E.C. Both Nigeria and Ghana have flatly declined even to consider following Britain if she enters the Common Market. Nkrumah has laid down conditions for his approval of Britain's entry—which amount to our finding a way of securing for Ghana all the economic advantages of belonging to the E.E.C. without actually joining. Sir Abubaker, Prime Minister of Nigeria, has rejected with equal force the idea of African associate membership of Europe. Both the Monrovia and the Casablanca blocs of African states are committed to developing inter-African trade. As a leading member of the former, Abubaker is on record as opposing any suggestion of each African state negotiating separately with Europe. He says such an arrangement would encourage inter-African rivalries.

Finally, both Ghana and Nigeria have condemned formal association with the E.E.C. as a breach of the principle of non-Alignment with either Eastern or Western blocs.

## LAWRENCE KATILUNGU

THE death of Mr. Lawrence Katilungu, Acting president of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, is a most severe blow at the present critical stage in Rhodesia. Katilungu was outstanding in his capacity to penetrate beneath the superficialities to the root of a problem, and then to address himself to the practical realities regardless of the consequences. From his early participation in the Copperbelt strike of 1940, which rapidly degenerated into riots, he became first Chairman of the first miners' union branch in 1948, and first President of the African Mineworkers' Union on its formation in 1949.

Though anxious to secure the advancement of Africans into 'European' jobs on the mines, he refused to sacrifice the basic union principle of the rate for the job, and devoted his main effort to raising the wages of the bulk of the African mining labour force. While a determined opponent of the establishment of the Rhodesian Federation, he refused to lead the Union into political strikes against it, and served on the Monckton Commission which concerned itself with the internal problems of the Federation. Like all union leaders, Katilungu lived permanently under bitter criticism, but although he ultimately lost his union position, the African mine workers cannot lose the vastly improved conditions of life which they gained under his leadership.

The Bureau remained in contact with Mr. Katilungu from his first arrival in this country in 1952 as a member of the Congress delegation to protest against Federation.

## ACTION IN SOUTH WEST ?

THE latest report of the U.N. Committee on South West Africa is a landmark in the sad story of South West Africa and its relations with the international community. For the first time, the Committee, noted for its impeccable caution and propriety, recommends the U.N. to take immediate action, not short of force.

'Short of compulsory measures,' it maintains, 'the problem of South West Africa cannot be solved in present circumstances in a manner that will protect the lives of the indigenous inhabitants and ensure the maintenance of international peace.' The Committee assumes, in the light of its previous reports, that 'the unfitness of South Africa' to administer the territory has been proved; and demands action to 'terminate South Africa's administration and to have (it) assumed directly or indirectly by the U.N.' For the first time too, the Committee urges action by the *Security Council* 'to ensure the effective implementation' of any resolutions passed this year and others passed before.

This will not be easy. The Bureau has repeatedly pointed out that the longer South African administration is allowed to continue the more difficult it will be to end it. The more desperate the situation of South Africa, the more recklessly committed its government will become to defend South West Africa—its frontier with a hostile outside world. We can only repeat that the U.N. will have to take action some time—and the sooner the better, for its own sake as well as that of South West Africa.

## MALTA'S UNHOPEFUL CONSTITUTION

ON November 1, a new constitution came into operation in Malta, imposed by Order in Council, and allowing for elections and a return to parliamentary government. But this constitution gives the Maltese little more power than they had under the former constitution. The British government retains not only defence and external affairs but even control of the police, so that the Maltese government will not be responsible for the most elementary exercise of governmental authority—the maintenance of law and order.

But what matters a great deal more than the substance of the constitution is the fact that it has been imposed, not negotiated, and that it is unacceptable to the main political parties and to the bulk of public opinion in Malta. If the deadlock continues the Labour Party and the Nationalist Party will boycott the elections, and those who stand and are elected will be regarded as British



stooges. The attempt to impose such an unpopular and unrepresentative government on the people of Malta is likely to result in strikes and even violence and bloodshed; and this will have to be followed by a return to direct rule. The same dreary old story.

How can this be avoided? The reason why the principle political parties would not give evidence before the Blood Commission, or discuss the proposed constitution with the Secretary of State, was that they were not offered the opportunity of expressing their views about full self-government and independence for Malta. The only way for the British government to secure their participation in the forthcoming elections would be to say that it is prepared to discuss independence, and if possible to fix a date with the parties in the new legislature; and that it will invite them to form a constitutional convention or commission for drafting a new and final constitution for the State of Malta. The future of the British base in Malta should be declared a matter for negotiation, as its maintenance must depend in the long run on the goodwill of the Maltese.

## TANGANYIKA - THE SHADOW OF FAMINE

OUR joyful good wishes to Tanganyika will be taken to her Independence Celebrations by three members of our Committee. **Hilda Selwyn-Clarke**, Adviser to the Bureau, has been personally invited by the Government. **Arthur Creech Jones**, our Chairman, leads the Parliamentary Association delegation; while **Hilary Marquand** has been invited as shadow Secretary for Commonwealth Relations.

We wish we could leave it at that.

**BUT**

Any hope of H.M. Government being able immediately to offer anything in the way of funds is not very good; in fact, it is rather remote'. This was the reply of the Under-Secretary of State on November 8th—confirmed by Mr. Maudling on the 21st—to a most moving appeal from all sides of the House for help for Tanganyika in the calamity which it is now suffering.

It contrasts startlingly with the ready aid given to Kenya in similar circumstances, and the proportionate assistance immediately assigned to British Honduras after the hurricane. It contrasts also, coming from the United Kingdom which is still the administering authority, with the prompt and unstinted help in food supplies rendered by the United States. The niggardliness of the Government makes a mockery of its representation at the Independence Celebrations, and will leave a scar on the relationship between the United Kingdom and the newest member of the

Commonwealth. The pressures exerted by the all-Party delegation of M.P.s to Mr. Maudling, by the non-partisan speeches in the House on the Tanganyika Independence Bill, and by the radio and press publicity inspired by the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief have apparently been to no avail.

The facts are straightforward enough and have been given to us at first hand. Mr. Betts, a former member of the Bureau staff, made a first-hand investigation on the spot in October on behalf of the Oxford Committee. The famine in Tanganyika has followed exactly the pattern of that in Kenya. It is true that Tanganyika has not had floods on the Kenya scale to aggravate the problem of food distribution; but to balance this—and more than balance it—she has had a greater number of people to feed in the famine areas without a penny of help from Britain.

For Tanganyika the financial problems have been twofold. First she has had to face the cost of distribution of the basic rations, delivered free by the United States at her ports, to the up-country districts where they are consumed. This operation is costing her some £300,000. Similar expenditure in Kenya had been specifically met by the U.K. Government, whereas Tanganyika has been refused. But in addition to this Mr. Julius Nyerere, insistent on his slogan that independence means work, and determined to maintain the principle of self-help, has ruled that labour on relief works shall be contributed in return for rations. For work on roads and earth dams and the like, a wage of 1s. 6d. a day is paid in addition to rations to enable the people to supplement their diet. But the maintenance of this principle is costing Tanganyika Government a further £750,000, so that the minimal bill facing Tanganyika in Britain's last year of trusteeship will top the million mark.

This is having a twofold effect. First, of course, it is knocking the territory's Development Plan into a cocked hat. Second, it means that the emergency feeding is being carried out on a bare subsistence basis. Not for Tanganyika children the luxuries of dried meat and vitamin pills and vitaminised oil which Kenya can afford to supply; they must face the long toll of malnutrition, the eye diseases, the ulcers, the pellagra and rickets which are the inevitable legacy of the famine and of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's austerity drive.

It is the more important, therefore, that our members should respond with the utmost generosity to the appeals now being made by private organisations for help.

**Donations may be sent to Sir William Haytor, East Africa Fund, Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, 17, Broad Street, Oxford.**



## CORRESPONDENCE

### Rhodesia and Katanga

To the Editor of VENTURE.

Sir,—Under the heading 'Another Congo Disaster' in your October issue, you state that 'Belgian mercenaries have been effectively reinforced from Rhodesia'. Only two Rhodesians have been identified in the August clashes between Katanga and the United Nations. Nevertheless the Federal Prime Minister has publicly announced that the passports of any Rhodesian volunteers caught would be withdrawn.

Secondly, you state that one of the two jet fighters was piloted by a Rhodesian. This has been categorically denied by the Federal Government and it is now universally acknowledged that there is no truth whatsoever that any aircraft involved was piloted by a Rhodesian.

Thirdly, you write that the British Government must take steps to prevent Sir Roy Welensky from intervening in any way in Katanga. The British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations had, on the contrary, this to say, when he addressed the Commonwealth writers of Britain in London on October 1st, 1961. 'Sir Roy and his Government have been grossly maligned and misrepresented. So far as trying to bring about the success of the United Nations' resolutions, which implies peaceful conciliation between Katanga and the Central Government, no one has been more sincere or more active than Sir Roy and his Government. They have done everything possible to encourage this. Nothing that the British or Federal Government has done at any stage has been in any conflict with the aim of trying to bring about a reconciliation between the Central Government and Katanga.'

Finally, the 'immediate impartial enquiry into the circumstances of Mr. Hammarskjöld's plane crash' which you demand has already been opened by a preliminary, impartial commission in September when no fewer than eight Swedish technical officers under the command of the Chief of Swedish Air Accident Investigation Branch, and the United Nations representative—Mr. J. P. Fournier—a world-famous expert, accepted the Federal Government invitation to act as assessors on the Commission of Enquiry.

All the above has been extensively reported in the national press, and I now request you to publish this letter so that your readers may be made aware of the true facts of the matter.

Yours faithfully,

W. R. FERRIS,

Information Attaché.

Office of the High Commissioner for  
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, London.

[We are sorry to have given circulation to the many reports, subsequently proved inaccurate, that one of Katanga's jet pilots was a Rhodesian. We made the same mistake as those who gave wide publicity to the mistaken report of the massacre of Irish troops, and other rumours lending credence to condemnations of the U.N. action in Katanga.]

We are happy to print Mr. Ferris's confirmation that the Federal Government will withdraw the passports of Rhodesian volunteers; and that an international enquiry into the death of Mr. Hammarskjöld has, belatedly in our view, begun its work.

With respect, however, we are not impressed by the British Government's views on the behaviour of Sir Roy Welensky over Katanga. We object fundamentally to the approach of both. In the earlier stages of the Congo crisis we criticised the actions of certain African states, who, in the interests of their own interpretations of U.N. resolutions, made the task of the Congo very much more difficult. The same applies *precisely* to the present actions of both the Federal and the British governments.

Mr. Ferris will surely not deny Sir Roy's passionate condemnation of the U.N. action in Katanga, nor the fact that he worked privately and publicly, in collaboration with the British Government to ensure its failure. Why? We believe—and here Mr. Ferris will not agree—that their support for Katanga derives less from a desire for 'peaceful reconciliation' than from a determination to support a pro-Western leader in control of a part of the richest province of the Congo. We do not believe Sir Roy would have described the U.N. action as 'the law of the jungle' if the much vaunted, though highly tenuous, stability of Katanga were being maintained with the help of Communist volunteers. Nor would he have taken up the cudgels on behalf of a secessionist Stanleyville province, if such were supported by mercenaries hostile to the West.

This lack of consistency causes untold damage in Africa, and puts us on the same level as the Communists. We shall not escape the charge of 'neo-colonialist manoeuvring' until we eschew attempts to bolster pro-Western leaders in areas where our economic interests are at stake. For the same reason the U.N. cannot simply hold the ring (while the Congo goes bankrupt) until such time as Mr. Tshombe decides for reconciliation. Is the decision to be entirely his? ED.]

The British-Caribbean Association, in co-operation with the Red Cross, the West India Committee and the Colonial Office have launched an appeal for the victims of 'Hurricane Hattie' in British Honduras. Donations should be sent to Leonard Smith, British-Caribbean Association, Bucklersbury House, 83, Cannon Street, London, E.C.4.



## LEGISLATION IN THE DARK

THE Government's Bill to control Commonwealth immigration is a thoroughly bad bill, and it should be resisted, opposed and denounced. It can be attacked from many angles. It has been rushed upon Parliament without adequate thought or preparation under pressure from a minority of Conservative M.P.s. One proof that the Bill has been introduced with unseemly haste is that the Government does not even know whether its proposal to control Irish immigration is workable.

None of the essential facts are known. Our statistics about immigration and emigration are notoriously defective. We do not even know how many people come here from the Commonwealth, or how many go home or stay here. There is evidence that the number who re-emigrate is considerably larger than is generally thought—perhaps as much as 44 per cent. Over 20 per cent. of West Indians seem to have gone home again in the last five or six years. We do not know how many immigrants are living in different towns. We do not know the facts about over-crowding. The Government is asking Parliament in a measure of the highest importance for the Commonwealth to legislate in the dark. At the very least there should have been a prior enquiry to establish the basic facts.

It is fantastic that the Government should have rushed this Bill upon us without any proper consultation with the rest of the Commonwealth. Efforts should have been made to secure, if necessary, some voluntary restriction on immigration. At the same time, it would have been worth while to try and get other barriers to free movement in the Commonwealth removed. I deplore all restraint on movement in the Commonwealth. But I do not think that the British Government can plead these restrictions in other parts of the Commonwealth as justification for this Bill. The Government is introducing a new barrier where none was before and one that will be resented by all Commonwealth nations without distinction.

### Reasonable Provisions

Personally, I am prepared to accept in principle two provisions in the Bill—namely, health checks and the power to deport convicted criminals. Both these things are sensible in themselves and both can in reality and not only nominally be operated in a non-racial manner. But all the rest of the Bill I reject.

It will inevitably be worked in a discriminatory way. Negligible numbers of white Commonwealth immigrants will be excluded: almost all who are excluded will be the darker citizens of the Commonwealth. If—as seems practically certain—Irish immigrants are excluded, this will make even more blatant the race discrimination inherent in the Bill. This will, too, greatly offend immigrants from

Australia and Canada who will have to undergo enquiry and perhaps get vouchers whilst the non-Commonwealth Irish come in freely.

The British Government has chosen the worst possible moment, from the Commonwealth point of view, to bring in their Bill. We are engaged in bringing non-racial states in East and Central Africa to self-government. Everything will turn on the tolerance of African majorities for white minorities. What a moment for the British Government to give an example of racial discrimination! We are engaged in negotiations about entry into the Common Market. If we go in, freedom of movement from Europe to the United Kingdom will be greater than from the Commonwealth to the United Kingdom. There have already been anguished protests from the West Indies. Indians may impose equivalent restrictions on the present absolute freedom of Britons to enter that country.

### Planned Settlement

To oppose the Bill is not to deny that there is a race problem. Anyone who knows the great cities of Britain knows it. The real problem is one of appalling over-crowding with resultant dangerous race tension. The cause of this problem is the 'clotting' of the coloured immigrant population in a few centres of poor housing and high employment. To this problem the Bill is wholly irrelevant. It will do nothing to relieve over-crowding and, in fact, under the Bill considerable numbers of immigrants of one kind and another will continue to come in and help to create inhuman overcrowding.

There are two remedies. One is to give local authorities far stronger powers to stop over-crowding. They should be able to give orders to landlords backed by strong sanctions. This might cause some injustice and suffering. Some tenants might have to be put temporarily in hostels. But the problem is desperate: we cannot exclude the danger of race riots; the remedy has to be desperate, too.

Secondly, we should throw our whole weight against the colour bar in Britain. Incitement to race hatred should be made punishable. Practice of the colour bar in places to which the public has access should be illegal. The Government should back local authorities and private bodies that form councils to help forward integration. The appointment of many more welfare officers should be financially encouraged.

None of the problems caused by immigration are beyond our power to solve internally. No one denies that many of our own services—from transport to nursing—could not be continued without immigrants, largely coloured, who are willing to fill the least popular jobs. We are surely capable of making the kind of social adjustments necessary to absorb them.



# THE COLLEGE AT THE CROSSING PLACE

THE Tanganyika African National Union realised, as long ago as 1958, that there was a desperate shortage of well-educated Africans to run an independent Tanganyika. Their response was a positive one; they decided to do something about it. So in February, 1958, the annual Party Conference instructed its officers to 'start in Tanganyika a College like Ruskin College'.

Government suspicion of politically initiated education, plus preoccupation with the first elections ever to be held in the territory, plus the financial problem involved, delayed positive implementation until the end of 1959. But within TANU itself money began to be raised for 'the College'.

In December, 1959, the first meeting of the Tanganyika Education Trust Fund was held in the house of one of the thirteen Trustees. The Chairman and initiator of the Trust was Julius Nyerere. He had selected six other TANU members and six non-Africans as Trustees. That first meeting made three decisions: to buy the building which had been the Dolphin Hotel in Dar-es-Salaam; to employ someone with adult education experience in order to get the plans moving; and to begin an appeal for money. In fact the appeal was launched by a contribution of £60,000 from the Karimjee Trusts. It was followed immediately by a guarantee of £50,000 from TANU, and one of a similar amount from the Bukoba Native Co-operative Union.

## The Old and the New

On April 9th, 1960, I arrived in Dar-es-Salaam to begin the most exciting and rewarding job it is possible to imagine. On arrival I was taken to see the building which now stands white and proud on the harbour front looking across the town. Then it was dirty, its approaches overgrown, birds' nests in every room and rotten dunlopillo mattresses lying carelessly on rusty beds. Yet even then it was possible to see what it could become. The three storeys of individual study bedrooms looking into a courtyard blooming with bourganvillea, the bar transformed into a common room and dining room, the private suite into the library, and the big open terrace on the first floor providing the space for a lecture room.

On July 29th this year the guests at the official opening saw a luxury hotel transformed into a beautiful setting for study by adult men and women. Few could have realised the hard work by the Principal and staff, and by thousands of men and women throughout Tanganyika, which had made such a speedy transformation possible.

Kivukoni College (the name means 'at the crossing place') has come into existence, and holds its place in the hearts of the people of Tanganyika, because of the way in which the people themselves conceived and nurtured it. The Trustees drew up

the plans, the constitution and the principles. The people, and their servants—myself and later the College Staff—carried them out. From the day of my arrival people asked when the College would open. It was theirs and they were anxious to see it. But they did more. They made it possible.

The first donations made planning possible, but more money was needed. The Trustees were concerned that the College should be a national effort—an example of the needs and fruits of the slogan 'Uhuru na Kazi' (Freedom and Work). So I went on long journeys through the territory, staying in each district in selected provinces, speaking at meetings and making collections in villages and towns.

The arrangements were made through TANU. The first TANU driver took control of the Trust car, the meetings were called by TANU, and it was mostly TANU or TANU Youth League members who carried the collecting boxes round the town streets and into the remoter villages. Sometimes we did as many as six meetings in a day; sometimes we visited individual farmers or traders. The meetings varied between small groups of traders or TANU Committees, to mass meetings of thousands of people.

And the response was incredible. Most of the Africans we met were poor, often subsistence farmers. But the one shilling for a brick which we asked for—and the coppers for nails—these poured in. People without cash gave maize meal, chickens, beans, eggs—anything they had. Wealthier people gave notes, traders (mostly Asian) cheques, and in one place a chief gave a cow, another a treasured silver watch. The plaque unveiled by the Prime Minister at the opening, bears the inscription: 'The College was established by the Tanganyika Education Trust Fund as a result of the work and voluntary contributions of the people of Tanganyika'. If this were illustrated it would have a picture of a young man untying the one coin from the bottom of his pocket and putting it in the collection—for I have seen it mean this.

## Knowledge for Citizenship

What is it that these people have done? The purpose of the College is to help the people to a better understanding of the economic, political and social problems of a new Tanganyika, and how to deal with them. The College can take only a few students—there are 39 in the first one-year course. We hope that the students will use their knowledge to teach others, or to work for the community in ways where a greater understanding of these subjects will be helpful. In other words, the purpose of the College is to enable the students to make a more effective contribution to the welfare of their country by expanding their knowledge and their critical and analytical powers.



by Joan Wicken

The students have lectures and tutorials in political science, economics, the agents of growth and the history of development in other under-developed countries. There is a lot of individual study and questioning is encouraged. The teaching methods and curriculum have to be adapted to these students. Though all of them are adults with practical experience of organising, teaching or public speaking, their knowledge is usually confined to that experience and to the basic slogans of an independence movement. The average level of formal education is eight years at school. Few have had the opportunity or time even for elementary reading. Yet in other things they are sophisticated and mature.

The qualifications for entry into Kivukoni are two: a knowledge of English sufficient to benefit from the course; and a record of service to the community. Out of 350 applicants for the first course only 36 Tanganyikans were selected. They include two members of the National Assembly, two women, 13 full-time TANU officials, two full-time trade unionists, and one Co-operative official. All take a share in the washing up after meals, the cleaning of the common rooms, and each does four hours' work on the grounds each week. The students have their own Executive Board, a Works Com-

mittee, Social Committee, and, of course, a TANU club. They have debates once a week, and go on study visits to places of interest. In the first vacation 26 students will take part in Community Development projects in different parts of the country.

To carry out this work we have a Tutorial staff of three people—the Principal and two others, helped by their wives and an American graduate student. They get paid at less than the normal local rate and find themselves involved in many extra-curricula activities as well. Their main return comes from the satisfaction of their jobs and the knowledge that they are contributing constructively to the future of Tanganyika. New staff are now being recruited for the expansion which is planned for next year—if the money can be found.

Of course money is still a big headache. £105,000 has been collected from within Tanganyika, but this is not enough to bring an income from investments sufficient to keep the College going, even at the most economical rate. Moreover, there is an urgent need to expand adult education facilities. The Tanganyika Education Trust Fund has already decided to undertake another project.

For the first time therefore, we are appealing for outside help. We shall continue to help ourselves, but the need for education is too urgent to wait only on the endeavours of a country with a *per capita* income of £22 per year. We must get money in large and small amounts—from any source which feels that such an effort in self-help is worth supporting.

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## LUTHULI PEACE PRIZE

WE rejoice in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, President of the South African African National Congress. 'The Chief', as he will always be known to his friends, is the first African to be honoured by the Nobel Committee. In homage to a great humanitarian, and as an illustration of his unrivalled dedication to all the peoples of South Africa, there follows extracts from his message to the white electorate of South Africa before the last election. In that election 70,000 people—about 10 per cent. of the electorate—took his advice to vote for the Liberal or Progressive Parties.

'Wednesday's election is all about us—our rights, our homes, our very lives. Yet none of us have anything to do with it. . . . The theme of the two big parties is: "Ensure the White man's future." May I offer a word of advice to you privileged White voters? The White man has no future distinct from our own. The two are the same. What will make you happy and prosperous will do the same for us. What drags us down will drag you down. . . .

We Non-Whites are denied the vote by law. You alone carry the heavy burden of giving the country a new government—a most grave and solemn responsibility, more so now when the voteless Non-Whites are rightly making an insistent claim for political recognition. That the Non-Whites will win their freedom is inevitable. What is desirable is that they get it in an atmosphere of peace, co-operation and goodwill. *The onus to make this so is on White South Africa.*

You dare not persist in turning a deaf ear to this vital and just demand. Vote for the welfare of all the people of South Africa, Black and White. Their true and unselfish interests do not conflict. . . . *We are not your enemies.* We only claim what is the birth-right of all people, freedom.

On the promise of giving the country a strong government the Nationalist Party courts your vote. A strong government indeed we need, but we need it for breaking through and destroying the racial crust that has choked and dwarfed South Africa for years. . . .

Yours for a democratic South Africa.

A. LUTHULI.'



# Portugal, Angola And N A T O

by Carlos Gonzalves Cambando \*

FOR more than 30 years Dictator Salazar has ruled Portugal and the colonies. As a result, about 40 per cent. of the Portuguese population is still illiterate. The country needs about 20,000 doctors but has only about 3,000, and the number of students in the medical schools is decreasing year after year. The economic policy is such that only very few enterprises can be supported; and these control the wages of the people in the interest of a handful of capitalists, so that no one can pay better.

Because of this the people in Portugal are suffering starvation and misery. The excuse given by Salazar for the poverty of the Portuguese is the 'civilising mission' in what he is pleased to call the 'Portuguese provinces.' The poor illiterate people have no alternative but to believe, for they live in an atmosphere of deceit and terror, in the shadow of the irony of the 'civilising mission.' Today it is clear that this policy means *destruction* of our civilisation, to the profit of people greedy of our riches. Angola has the right to independence and sovereignty like Portugal. But it should be emphasised that the independence of Angola would also enormously benefit the Portuguese people, provided that the independence of Angola means the fall of Salazar's government and its replacement by democracy. Thus any support given to Salazar under the false pretext of NATO aid strikes a blow at the people in Portugal—quite apart from the liberty of Angola. We believe that liberty means the same everywhere, just as the human being is the same everywhere.

## Early Resistance

In 1954 the Union of Population of the North of Angola (UPAN) was formed underground. Its leaders, persecuted, fled to Congo where they found hospitality and established the headquarters of the movement, which in 1960 became the Union of the Peoples of Angola (UPA). It demands the establishment of a socialist democratic republic, which will defend order, justice and the progress of people on a basis of liberty, equality and fraternity. In the external field it will defend positive neutrality, and co-operation with all countries on the basis of independence and mutual respect. The movement, whose President is Mr. Holden Roberto, now has about 200,000 members. In the north the UPA is well established. In Luanda it is the only African movement known by the popular masses, and it has recently extended its activities to the far south. It is made up of people from almost all tribes of Angola. Supported by the people, it is a movement of the people. Its main source of strength—the strong discipline it exercises on its members—has become the key to its success.

For more than ten years, every attempt which was made to discuss the critical situation in Angola with the Government ended in arrests without trial, or death and massacres. And the government example was followed by the settlers. In 1960 these verbal appeals were increased, but the results were the same. More and more troops were sent from Portugal to Angola. Finally, on the notorious Primavera farm ten people were shot, including women and children. They were on strike for better wages and conditions. So the people rose up, fighting desperately with what they had in hand. Then the UPA took over responsibility for the independence of Angola, answering force with force to end the humiliation of the people of our country.

## Strength Today

Now, six months later we have full authority in the North-east—more than one-third of the country. A few towns were abandoned for strategic reasons. But the dry season is almost over and this will give us our chance. The Portuguese government has about 50,000 soldiers fighting in Angola. The UPA by contrast has only 15,000 armed men. This is due not to shortage of men but to the lack of arms and equipment. Nevertheless our morale is high. Our *military* casualties are less than the Portuguese—approximately 2,000 Angolans against 8,000 Portuguese. Fifteen Portuguese aeroplanes have been shot down. We have some prisoners, including women, but they are well treated. The discipline and combative spirit are good. Our greatest need is for equipment: machine guns, uniforms, medical supplies. We will take any offer of such material.

Our civilian losses, on the other hand, are enormous. The Portuguese forces, supported by an armed civilian militia and the air force, constantly bomb and burn civilian villages. About 50,000 civilians—men, women and children—have been killed, and everything they had destroyed. More than 160,000 people are refugees who lack everything, including food and medical supplies.

On the battlefield Spaniards and Italians have been found—obviously recruited as mercenaries. German and South African pieces of napalm bombs, and machine guns from the U.S.A. provide further evidence that we are fighting not only against the Portuguese but against the entire NATO alliance.

Let us ask a question. Is this the way in which the West is prepared to defend human rights and democracy? If the answer is positive, we must conclude that some Western and Christian countries do not know what human rights mean. If the answer is negative then such support must be stopped without any reservation and immediately.

One thing, however, is sure: we shall continue to fight until Portugal will be forced to negotiate with us. Our task is made more difficult by NATO's support for Salazar. But though our enemies multiply, we cannot be crushed.

\*The author is the representative in Britain of the Union of the People of Angola (U.P.A.).



# EVENTS OF THE MONTH

(October 16th—November 15th)

## Ghana

Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, and Mr. Kojo Botsio, both of whom were relieved of their Cabinet positions last month, have now also been asked to resign from their chairmanship of the Councils of the University of Ghana and the Technological University of Kumasi respectively. Mr. Gbedemah is reported to have left Ghana; and on November 8 his house was cordoned by police. At least four of the formerly announced detainees, it was revealed, took refuge in Togoland. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions announced on November 2 that it will accuse Ghana before the International Labour Organisation of violating Trade Union rights and liberties. A special criminal division of the High Court of Ghana has been established to try offences against the state, for some of which the death penalty will be introduced.

## South Africa

On October 13 judgment was reserved on a court application to produce Mr. Anderson Ganyile, who, it is alleged, was kidnapped in Basutoland by South African police. The secretary of the S.A. Trade Union Council announced in October that unemployment is approaching the conditions of the early 1930s. South Africa has been barred from competing in the Empire Games.

## Nigeria

The Supreme Court decided early in November against the Federal Government in an action brought by interests involved in the Western Nigeria National Bank. The action arose from the establishment by the Federal Government of a Commission of Enquiry into the affairs of the Bank, after which the managing director asked the Court to rule that such an enquiry was not within the competence of the Federal Government.

## Tanganyika

It was announced on October 17 that Mr. Nyerere has requested that the present Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, should remain in Tanganyika as Governor-General after Independence on December 9, 1961.

The Portuguese Consulate in Dar-es-Salaam was closed on October 18. Since Tanganyika is still a Trust territory, recognition of the Consulate had to be terminated by the British government through the Governor, though it was done at the request of the Tanganyika government.

## Commonwealth Press Union

The C.P.U. held in Lahore at the end of October had some serious repercussions in Burma, where the press demanded an end to the government's tacit interference with the freedom of the press. They cited as evidence the arrest of two newspaper editors. President Ayub Khan of Pakistan assured the Conference that restrictions in Pakistan were only temporary. The Conference was chaired by Mr. Gavin Astor.

## Ruanda

Over 20,000 refugees from Ruanda had reached Tanganyika by the end of the first week in November. At the end of October they were flooding into Uganda at the rate of 500 a day.

## Sarawak

It was announced early in October that the rudiments of a ministerial system of rule, together with universal franchise, will be established in Sarawak. The proposals were discussed by the Council Negri, the equivalent of a Legislative Council, on October 31st. Sarawak is one of the two territories other than Singapore which will fall into the proposed Malaysia Federation with Malaya, if and when it is established. Talks which took place at the end of November between the governments of Malaya and Britain, will be discussed next month.

## Western Samoa

The Bill to give full independence to West Samoa on January 1st, 1962, was passed in the New Zealand Parliament on October 17. The territory will probably remain a member of the Commonwealth. It was a United Nations Trust Territory.

## Pakistan

President Ayub Khan has delayed announcing his promised new democratic constitution until March next year. The announcement will be followed by elections in mid-June.

Sir Glyn Jones, Governor of Nyasaland, resigned on October 26 from the Zomba Gymkhana Club because Africans are excluded from membership.

## Central Africa

On his arrival in London on October 27 for consultations he said he was optimistic about Nyasaland's future. In Southern Rhodesia 3,000 qualified African farmers are to receive land for farms in areas previously reserved for Europeans. The Minister of Labour, Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, has announced that workers in Southern Rhodesia are to have their wages reviewed by Industrial Boards.

## Publications

Crown Agents' Review, October, 1961. (Crown Agents, Millbank, S.W.1.)

Public Officers' Agreement between the Governments of Sierra Leone and the United Kingdom. (Cmnd. 1929, H.M.S.O., 8d.)

The United Kingdom Dependencies, 1960-61. (C.O.I. H.M.S.O.)

The United Kingdom and International Trusteeship. (C.O.I., H.M.S.O.)

Report of the Uganda Constitutional Conference and Text of the Agreed Draft of New Buganda Agreement. (Cmnd. 1523, H.M.S.O., 5s.)

British Honduras. (C.O.I., H.M.S.O.)



# Parliament and the Commonwealth

On October 23 Mr. Warbey asked the Lord Privy Seal whether there had been any delay in allowing Ethiopian **jet fighters bound for the Congo** to overfly and refuel in British East Africa. Mr. Heath replied that there had been no unnecessary delay, but that the aircraft did not leave Ethiopia until six days after permission had been given.

Questions were asked in both Houses about the **hurricane in British Honduras**, and on November 7 the Secretary of the State for the Colonies, Mr. Maudling, made a statement in reply to Mr. Fisher and Mr. Marquand. The death toll in Belize alone was 160 (since risen to over 300), and 70 missing. In Storm Creek, the second town in the Colony, destruction of life and property had been even greater. The co-ordination of medical and food supplies had been undertaken by the government of Jamaica, which informs the U.K. government of its requirements. The U.S. Navy, the Royal Navy, and the R.A.F. have been delivering supplies and personnel. Mr. Marquand, supported by Mr. Gaitskell, suggested that a Minister should be sent out. He also pointed out that the American administration had given more money for relief than the British government, and asked that assistance should be given to the Colony to rebuild the capital city. Mr. Maudling replied that there had been an initial contribution of £10,000 to the Relief Fund, and further financial responsibility would rest on the Government for the reconstruction of the Colony. He would consider the other two suggestions.

On November 7 Mr. Dugdale asked the Colonial Secretary what contribution Her Majesty's Government would make to relieve the **famine in Tanganyika**. Mr. Maudling replied that he was considering the representations that had been made to him, and Mr. Fraser, the Under-Secretary of State, replying on the following day to the debate on the Tanganyika Independence Bill, said that 'anything in the way of immediate funds was not sure and rather remote.' (See Comment, page 3.)

On November 7 Sir Frank Markham asked the Secretary of State whether the staff of the **East African High Commission** were under an obligation to serve Tanganyika after it became independent. Mr. Maudling replied that after Tanganyikan independence the East Africa High Commission would become the East African Common Services Organisation, and that officers of H.M. Overseas Civil Service would be free to choose between retirement with compensation and continuing to serve on the same terms. He pointed out in the debate on Tanganyika the following day that the consolidation of economic advance was paving the way for 'a wider and more general form of association between the East African Territories.'

On November 8 the Prime Minister made a statement about the **Queen's visit to Ghana**. After a bomb explosion in Accra, doubt had been expressed about the Queen's safety, and Mr. Sandys was sent out to Ghana to report to the Cabinet about the security risk. His report was in favour of the visit, and the Cabinet advised the Queen in this sense. Only one Member, Mr. Turton, suggested that Her Majesty was being subjected to unnecessary risks. Mr. Gaitskell wished the Queen a successful tour, and this was evidently the feeling of the House. It was left to one of Dr. Nkrumah's toughest opponents, Mr. Mallalieu, to add that the warmth of the welcome the people of Ghana would give the Queen 'could not be exceeded anywhere.'

On the same day the House debated the **Tanganyika Independence Bill** and the Southern Rhodesian (Constitution) Bill. Mr. Maudling said that the United Nations had agreed to the termination of our Trusteeship Agreement and that the other Commonwealth countries had accepted Tanganyika as a full member of the Commonwealth. So Tanganyika will become simultaneously an independent nation and a member of the Commonwealth on December 9. Mr. Griffiths said that co-operation between the races, African, Asian and European, in Tanganyika was an example to the rest of East Africa. The House was unanimous in wishing success to Mr. Nyerere and the people of Tanganyika.

The Bill for giving **Southern Rhodesia** a new constitution was far more controversial, and ended in a division with the Labour and Liberal Parties voting against the Government. The Bill was opposed on two grounds: that the proposed safeguards against racial discrimination were no substitute for the present reserved powers of Her Majesty's Government, and that African representation in the new legislature would be inadequate. The Opposition pointed out that the Constitutional Council which would study legislation to ascertain whether it was discriminatory was only advisory, and the Government replied that the existing veto of Her Majesty's Government was out-of-date, had never been used, and could not in practice be used. The Opposition, while regretting the African boycott of the Elections, said that 15 African seats in an Assembly of 65 failed to secure sufficient African representation, and that there was no means of further political advance for the African population. The Government replied that 15 seats was an advance on one, and that the new constitution would be a significant step in the breakdown of racial barriers.



# Guide to Books . . .

## The Dawn of African History

By Roland Oliver (O.U.P., 10s. 6d., paper-back 6s.)

This collection of essays, the editor hopes, 'will convey some sense of the shape of the subject as a whole, of the lines along which work is proceeding, and, above all, of the many problems which still need much more investigation'. This is of course far too ambitious a programme and the six or seven pages allotted to each contributor is just room enough in which to summarise what is now known about the area or period being discussed. In most cases this is done with perhaps to great lucidity: one does not appreciate that they involve the piecing together of not always interlocking chunks of information from a wide variety of sources.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler's introductory chapter may prove to be downright confusing for the book's non-specialist audience. Does the phrase 'Bantu Negroes' become obviously unscientific when one is told that 'Bantu' is a linguistic term, 'Negro' is a racial term? Similarly, when one is told that the Grimaldi skulls (dated by a misprint to 200,000 instead of 20,000 years ago) 'have Negro traits but were not, in the skeletal sense, true Negroes', is the distinction obvious? Sir Mortimer is making oblique references to problems of classification of which the reader is most unlikely to be aware.

One senses, then, the lack of a good introduction: an introduction in which the aims, techniques and systems of classification of the prehistorian are clearly explained. Such an introduction could have made one or two points of general interest, points which might also have been but are not made in Roland Oliver's rather hazy summary—a summary in which the phrase 'neolithic hunter' jars quite as disconcertingly as ever did 'Bantu Negro'. (The word 'neolithic' in modern usage refers quite specifically to communities which have adopted agriculture as their mode of subsistence. If Mr. Oliver feels that the usage should be altered, he should say so, and say why.)

Despite these reservations, this is a fascinating book—my only fear is that it will not be possible for the non-specialist to profit fully from it. One cannot fail to be excited about the 16th century university at Timbuktu; or about Portugal's first, and very nearly successful, attempt at Europeanisation, in the Old Kingdom of the Congo, four and a half centuries ago. This is a remarkable story of enlightenment. There was no attempt, at colonisation; priests and skilled craftsmen were sent out to instruct the Africans on the request of the African ruler. The project ultimately foundered largely because 'there were never enough missionaries and technicians to teach the Congolese effectively'.

Many are likely to be interested in two opinions of W. H. Macmillan, writing about South Africa: 'Many South African historians and theorists have made too much of the fact that some of the area of the Union has never been African territory; what

the tribes once held has far more favourable natural conditions than anything except the site of the original European settlement, the small south-western corner near Cape Town'. Also, writing about the wars and upheaval associated with the emergence of the Zulus under Chaka: 'Building on the evidence of this one undoubted upheaval, South African theorists again go too far in postulating that 'Bantu' history was one prolonged upheaval, that it amounted merely to a mass migration, of which the southernmost tribe were the advance guard'.

J. D. LEAHY

## Common Sense About Race

By Philip Mason (Gollancz, 12s. 6d.)

Any book propagating enlightenment on race relations is welcome. This one is nonetheless disappointing, good only in parts. The earlier sections dispose well of the biological myths of blood and race, and there follows a sensible account of intelligence testing and alleged differences in innate intelligence. As befits a short fairly popular book of this nature these arguments are presented with simplicity and clarity.

However, the second half of the book, where the author's brief is less obvious, loses some of the earlier cogency and meanders too loosely over too many subjects. It suffers also from a curious one-eyed view of the causes of prejudice. Mr. Mason's account of racial conflict is a psychological one, largely in terms of defective super-egos and sexual guilt feelings.

One would not object to a little watered-down Freud, were it not for the fact that here psychology leaves no place for sociology. The implication is that the racial battlefield is situated exclusively in the unconscious: conflicts arising from a clash of objective interests are somehow brushed aside.

This is a fault of more than academic significance. It is important because one's analysis of the causes of prejudice and conflict must decide one's prescription for dispersing them. Take the Kenya settler, or the Kensington family whose sleep is often disturbed by noisy all-night parties of West Indians: is one to resolve the racial conflict in these two situations by uttering a homily on the symbolism of 'blackness,' or is one to tackle the noise and the land question?

Instead of a disquisition about what happened to the Canaanite women it might have been better if Mr. Mason had told us about American experience of inter-racial housing: it might for instance have been useful to point out that mixing up people of different races on housing estates encouraged integration where the people concerned belonged to the same class, but that where racial differences were accompanied by class differences race relations tended to deteriorate. These kind of considerations are neglected in favour of Othello and anti-coloured prejudice in Elizabethan times.

But to do Mr. Mason justice the book ends on a more constructive note with some suggestions



about what could be done to reduce discrimination. The government would do well to pay more attention to these than to immigration controls.

STEPHEN HATCH.

### Hour After Midnight: One Man's Battle

By Colin Morris (Longmans, 16s.)

At a time when one imagined everything to have been said on the subject of race relations in Central Africa, Mr. Morris has produced the most moving and vivid account yet. At one level it is the story of his own emotional and spiritual struggle to conceive and fulfil the Christian responsibility towards the pattern of Central African society. At another level, but not unconnected, Mr. Morris has given us a terse analysis of political forces operating there. The combination of acute political understanding with a profoundly ethical approach is rare indeed.

The book is written with the passion of *true* humility: the conviction which follows a ruthless questioning, regardless of personal consequences, of his own most sacred assumptions leaves an overwhelming impression of integrity. Mr. Morris understands and conveys—the doctrinaire would say too well—the unhappy vulnerability, the guilt-based defensiveness of the 'settler point of view,' and he gives it its due. His conception of Central African salvation, political and spiritual, is the more agonising for the recognition of the profound psychological trauma it will involve.

By his work in Northern Rhodesia Mr. Morris earned for himself the title 'the fighting parson.' He became the centre of raging controversy about the place of the church in politics—a controversy which culminated in the physical desecration of his church. He is a fighter by nature, and a natural political *nous* gives him his robust gutsy predilection for the fray; but there is no sensationalism involved.

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M. J. R.

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By George Lamming (Michael Joseph, 21s.)

Mr. Lamming says of a fellow writer's characters that they are 'preparing for a Season of Adventure'; the same might be said of himself in 'The Pleasures of Exile'. For this is not an apologia, a history, a sociological or a literary study, or an autobiography, but rather the beginning of all these. It is an intuitive and at times logical analysis of various experiences in the Caribbean, London, Africa and New York. There is a similarity here to a series of feature articles in a weekly newspaper; each leads up fascinating alleys, but the whole is devious to the point where one wonders if there is a crux to the matter at all. Is Mr. Lamming playing the poet or the factual interpreter?

The crucial metaphor of Caliban and Prospero is sustained only too well, and woe betide the reader who is labouring under the preconceptions planted by an earlier reading of 'The Tempest'. For Mr. Lamming's Caliban is not merely the starting point for what might have been a useful simile. He becomes disastrously confused in our minds as a metaphor forged to embody the paradox of a civilisation, but created gratuitously from a character which originally had meaning in its dramatic context only. If we are to have a literary discussion then Mr. Lamming should have talked about 'The Tempest' in its own context; if we are to understand the 'state of feeling' of exiled writers of the Caribbean he should have entered less into problematic domestic details of Shakespeare's characters. Does Mr. Lamming really want to be considered synonymous with Caliban?

However, to comfort us on this somewhat bewildering journey, there are such passages as the description of New York. Here is an exciting speech-rhythm and a sensitive awareness which are the gifts of a poet, but also an occasional carelessness as to the precise meanings of words which do not augur well for an essayist.

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